

6 August 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: SR/Special Assistant

ATTENTION: [ ]

SUBJECT: Internationalism or Russification, by  
Ivan DZYUBA

1. The attached is the book about which I told you some time ago, which Project AERODYNAMIC arranged to have published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in London.

2. The original document was written by Ivan DZYUBA, a young Soviet Ukrainian literary critic, following a wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965. It was addressed to the First Secretary of the Ukrainian CP (Yuriy Shelest) and to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers (V. Shcherbyts'ky). Project AERODYNAMIC obtained the manuscript via a collaborator in Czechoslovakia, who carried it from the Ukraine and passed it on through a Project collaborator in the West, who was visiting in Czechoslovakia. It was learned through project contact operations that Shelest distributed copies of the document to members of the Ukrainian Writers Union with instructions to prepare an appropriate rebuttal, but the rebuttal was never written. DZYUBA never received a reply. In the document, DZYUBA presented factual evidence from various spheres of life in the Soviet Union to show that Russian chauvinism is striving to engulf all the other nationalities in the USSR.

3. Since the book came out in London, there appeared a review in the London Daily Telegraph on 27 June, which stated that "From today no one in the West has an excuse for ignorance about either the lengths to which the process of 'Russification' has gone in the western territories of the Soviet Union or the strength of the resistance to that process, at least in the Ukraine. Ivan DZYUBA's book is a masterly piece of political writing which can leave no interested person unmoved. He is the defender of Lenin's

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nationalities policy against its later distortion and reversal by Stalin and Khrushchev. This is doubtless why the authorities have found it impossible either to reply publicly or to clap him into gaol."

4. Radio Liberty has plans to broadcast the full text of the book in its Ukrainian-language programs. The Institut Litteraire in Paris, which publishes the Polish-language Kultura, has requested permission to publish a portion of the book in its journal, and a French-language version of the book is due to appear later this summer in Canada. Project AERODYNAMIC published a Ukrainian-language version of the book in Munich in July of this year. Copies of the Ukrainian and English versions of the book have been taken to Czechoslovakia for eventual delivery to DZYUBA in the Ukraine. Although it is too soon to measure Soviet reaction, it is expected that the appearance of the book in the West will not only evoke a negative reaction on the part of Soviet officials but will boost the morale of DZYUBA and his colleagues in the intellectual circles.

5. Ivan DZYUBA remains free to walk the streets of Kiev (it is believed Soviet authorities are puzzled as to what moves to take against him at present, except to deny him the privileges of a writer), but he frequently is being visited by V. F. Nikitchenko, chief of the Ukrainian KGB. Although he has been excluded from the Soviet Ukrainian press, Moscow's Novi Mir, in its issue No. 3, 1968, published a review he wrote of a collection of stories by a Ukrainian writer.

[ SR/CA ]

SECRET